

The Times-Dispatch.

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SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 8, 1903.

Editors and the Primary.

With a view to ascertaining the sentiment throughout Virginia on the subject of primary and viva voce voting, The Times-Dispatch recently addressed a circular letter to members of the Virginia Press Association, in which the following questions were asked:

1. Do you favor the primary plan?
2. Do you favor the viva voce voting?
3. What is the general sentiment of the people in your community on these two questions?

It will be observed that the editors were requested to give their own views and also the views, as far as they were able to express them, of the people in their respective communities. The replies are overwhelmingly in favor of the primary, and in opposition to the viva voce system of voting.

Mr. Joseph C. Fiveash, editor of the Norfolk Public Ledger, is one of the few editors who express themselves as being in favor of viva voce voting. But Mr. Fiveash says he is unable to state whether or not the masses hold similar views.

Mr. Charles P. Sapp, editor of the Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, and Mr. James M. Thomson, editor of the Norfolk Dispatch are both opposed to viva voce voting, and both think that the people of that section entertain the same view.

Mr. S. R. Donohoe, editor of the Fairfax Herald, is himself opposed to viva voce voting, and says that while no special feeling has been manifested by the people in his section, such expressions as he has heard are in opposition.

Mr. J. B. Burwell, editor of the Staunton Argus, is opposed to viva voce voting, and says that his people generally are opposed. He also says that in the recent primary many business men failed to vote for the reason that they did not care to make their preference of candidates a matter of public record.

Mr. J. Peter Holland, editor of the Franklin Graphic, is opposed to viva voce voting, and says that the people in Southampton are also opposed.

Mr. J. A. Leslie, editor of the Clinch Valley News, says that he is unable to make a positive assertion, but does not think that viva voce voting would be acceptable to his people.

Mr. E. G. Moseley, editor of the Danville Methodist, is personally very much in favor of viva voce voting, but says that it is not a popular method with the masses. He further states that the general sentiment in Pittsylvania county is decidedly against the present primary plan, and many say they will never take part in another primary election under the same plan.

Mr. A. S. Morton, editor of the Staunton Spectator, is opposed to viva voce voting, and says that the people of his section are also opposed.

Mr. Will H. Stevens, editor of the Clarendon Herald, is opposed to viva voce voting.

Mr. Charles D. Dent, editor of the Salem Times-Register, is opposed to viva voce voting, and says that so far as he is able to judge, the general sentiment of the people in that community is also against it.

Mr. Alexander Forward, editor of the Wytheville Dispatch, says that he is in doubt as to the advisability of continuing the primary plan, as it deprives the party of the enthusiasm engendered by public meetings, and puts the candidate to the expense and trouble of going through two campaigns. He says that he and the people of his section are opposed to viva voce voting, although the people are in favor of the primary.

Mr. W. R. Sowers, editor of the Floyd Press, says that he and his people are opposed to viva voce voting.

Mr. M. J. Webb, editor of the Nelson County Times, says that personally he sees no good reason why the viva voce feature should not be retained in the primary plan. As for the people, sentiment is somewhat divided as to the primary, but a majority seem to oppose the viva voce method.

Mr. A. P. Rowe, editor of the Fredericksburg Free Lance, says that he does not favor viva voce voting, and does not believe that it will ever become popular with the masses. He thinks that many deserving citizens would stay away from the polls rather than publicly announce the names of the candidates for whom they vote.

Mr. M. E. Church, editor of the Falls Church Messenger, thinks that the Demo-

crats in that community are in favor of the present primary election plan, with slight modifications.

Mr. W. A. Land, editor of the Blackstone Courier, is personally in favor of viva voce voting, but says that the people in his section generally are opposed to it.

Rev. James Cannon, Jr., editor of the Methodist Record, of Blackstone, is personally in favor of the primary plan, but does not know how the people generally stand. He thinks that those who have independence and the courage of their convictions, believe in open voting, but that those who are unwilling to take a positive stand prefer the secret ballot.

Mr. John S. Riley, editor of the Bedford Bulletin, says that he and his people are opposed to viva voce voting.

Mr. John A. Eoff, editor of the Monticommery Messenger, is opposed to viva voce voting. He has not heard any complaint against that method but he thinks the people would greatly prefer no vote at all.

Mr. George F. Morton, editor of the Winchester News, is in favor of viva voce voting, and believes that that is the sentiment of a large majority of the people in that section of the State.

Mr. Leonard Cox, editor of the Charlotte Gazette, says that sentiment in his community is divided on the subject of the primary as at present conducted.

Mr. A. H. Snyder, editor of the Rockingham Register, is opposed to viva voce voting because in his opinion it is calculated to deter the very element which we are trying to attract from taking part in primary contests, thereby turning the primary to the quasi professional element. He does not believe that the people in his section will ever turn out generally to a primary for local offices, particularly where the viva voce method is employed.

Mr. H. B. Miller, editor of the Harrisonburg Free Press, says that his people are generally in favor of the primary plan and want it legalized, but that there is a division of opinion on the subject of viva voce voting.

Mr. John Wood, editor of the Bristol Herald, thinks that viva voce voting should be abolished, as it appears to him to be the one obstruction to the complete success of the primary plan. He believes that to be the sentiment of his people although on that point he is not sure.

Mr. D. S. Lewis, editor of the Spirit of the Valley, says that the people in his section want an honest ballot, provided it can be made honest.

Mr. Walter E. Addison, editor of the Roanoke Times, is opposed to viva voce voting, and thinks that is the prevailing Democratic sentiment in that section.

Mr. J. E. West, editor of the Suffolk Herald, is opposed to viva voce voting, and says that it is hard to find a man in that section who is not opposed.

Mr. Robert N. Harper, manager of the Washingtonian-Mirror of Leesburg, is opposed to viva voce voting, and believes that to be the sentiment of the Democrats of Loudoun county.

Mr. W. McDonald Lee, editor of the Virginia Citizen, of Irvington, says that although he was originally in favor of the primary plan, he is now convinced that it has little virtue in it, and so he is opposed to it. He says that it has proved objectionable to the majority of the people of the Northern Neck. He is in favor of the viva voce method of voting, and says that the sentiments which he expresses are largely entertained in Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland counties.

Mr. Henry T. Voorhes, editor of the Old Dominion Sun, of Staunton, thinks that viva voce voting has both its good features and its bad. He thinks that the primary plan is generally acceptable to the people.

Judge C. J. Campbell, editor of the Amherst New Era, says that he is a stronger friend than ever of the primary plan, but he thinks that in order to make it a fixture in the Democratic party, it must be legalized. He is opposed to viva voce voting, and says that the Democrats in Amherst are also opposed.

Mr. W. F. Matheny, editor of the Highland Recorder, says that a majority of the older voters in that county favor viva voce voting, but he does not think that that is the sentiment of the county as a whole.

Newspaper men are by education fair-minded. It is their business to print both sides of the news, and they can generally be relied upon to give a fair and unprejudiced view of any situation with which they are acquainted. We feel sure that in this case they have fairly expressed the sentiment in the several communities represented by them, and if so, it is demonstrated beyond a doubt that the sentiment throughout Virginia is overwhelmingly in favor of the primary plan of choosing candidates, and against the method of voting by word of mouth.

Congress and Legislation.

The "open season" for legislation begins unusually early this winter. Soon the Virginia newspapers will be crowded with reports of the proceedings of Congress and of the General Assembly of Virginia both, for both of these bodies will precede their regular sessions by extra sessions—a coincidence which is infrequent.

The new Congress—the Fifty-eighth—has been called together by the President in order that it may pass upon the Cuban reciprocity treaty, and, if it approves it, allow it to go into operation at an early day.

The extra session is in the interest of expedition, and is also expected to have a quieting effect upon the Cubans, who have grown somewhat restive while waiting for action upon our part—action that will reduce the United States tariff upon some of their chief agricultural products.

At the last session of Congress the Senate ratified the treaty that had been framed, conditioned, however, upon the approval of Congress. At that time there was much opposition in the House to any

"disturbance" of the tariff, but since then it is believed the President has gotten the objecting members of his party, or most of them, into line. It is probable, therefore, that the Cuban tariff will be quickly disposed of.

Of currency legislation, it is given out that there will be none; that question will be deferred until the regular session, which begins on the first Monday in December.

The revolution in Panama must clothe the extra session of Congress with unexpected and unwanted interest. A new political situation has developed there and it may become the duty of this government to abandon the Colombian treaty altogether and make a new one, not with that short-sighted republic, but with the new republic of Panama, or else with Nicaragua and Costa Rica.

The folly of Colombia in rejecting the Hay-Herran treaty, and the startling transformation of the government in Panama from one of dependence to one of independence are things which were not dreamed of when Congress adjourned in the spring of this year. It only remains to be seen whether the extra session or the regular session will be required to deal with the situation. Later news from Panama and Bogota must determine that.

At Washington the "new" Congress meets, but in Richmond it is the "old" General Assembly which convenes in adjourned session on Tuesday. The "new" Legislature, that which was elected on the 3d instant, does not meet until the 12th day of January, when it will enter upon a regular session of sixty days.

The life of the old General Assembly was extended by the Constitutional Convention, so that it might have ample leisure in which to conform existing statutes to the changes made by the new Constitution, and during the recess, now nearly ended, it has had a committee at work reviewing and harmonizing the acts passed and the bills proposed.

That has been a work of great magnitude, and we have reason to believe it has been well and faithfully done; if so, the labor of the two houses will be greatly reduced. But, under the most favorable circumstances, many questions necessarily must be left to the determination of the two houses. Discussions there are sure to be and these will involve not only forms of legislation, but policies, and so we may be quite sure the extra session will have business enough to engage its whole time, even if no new subject be introduced to its attention.

We "know" when the Legislature will meet, but precisely when it will adjourn since no man can safely predict—for it has a vast volume of work to dispose of. And so, of legislation, State and national, there will be a plenty this winter, and following hard upon it will come the presidential canvass, with all its glory for the "small believers" and all its excitement for the people.

Tammany's Victory.

Tammany's triumph is a disgrace to civilization and an insult to public decency. It means that the city is going to return to the system of graft and racketeering, under which those who pay the price will be permitted to violate the law and ply their infamous trade in crime and shameful immoralities. Verily the law has returned to her wall—Richmond Times.

Verily indeed. Still, perhaps, if she had been given a comfortable bed, as well as a clean one, she wouldn't have done so. Anyway, we cannot go so far as to agree that Tammany's victory is a disgrace to civilization. All Tammany whooping to the contrary, the issue was not merely one between decency and indecency.—Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.

Perhaps not. Vice was not stamped out by the low administration, and no one denies that Mr. McClellan is a man of good moral character. But Tammany rule stands for all that is corrupt in municipal government. The Tammany society is a business organization, and politics is its business. It is always in for the stuff, and its leaders and underlings have grown rich upon dividends from vice and crime. For that reason it was opposed in the late contest by the decent newspapers of the city, by the pulpit and by the great body of decent voters. It does seem to us nothing less than a disgrace to civilization that such an organization, with its slimy trail behind it, should be returned to power in the leading city of America, and if this was done on the score that even Tammany rule is preferable to Fusion rule, New York's disgrace is so much the worse.

The C. and O. Offices.

We are not prepared to take seriously the report that the main offices of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company are to be removed from this city to Clifton Forge; yet the bare rumor of such a change is enough to arouse Richmond, and the Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company are old friends, and good friends, and loyal friends, and a separation is not to be thought of.

If the company has a grievance against Richmond, let it be made known at once, and let officers of the company and the representative men of the city get together and discuss the situation in a friendly way. If so, we have no doubt that a satisfactory settlement can be made.

What is Your Favorite?

We invite our readers to vote on the question of what poem shall be printed the Sunday before Thanksgiving in "Poems You Ought to Know." The poem appropriate to Thanksgiving, for which the greatest number of persons express

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The Sanctified Believer.

(Selected for The Times-Dispatch.)
"For their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified."—John 17:19.

Having viewed the sanctification of Christ, let me consider the sanctification of Christians—"that they also might be sanctified."

This sanctification differs much from the former. It goes, indeed, take in the notion of dedication. In this sense believers are sanctified; and they wish to regard all they are and all they have as the Lord's, not only by claim, but by consecration. And in their experience there has been a time in which they "gave their own selves unto the Lord."

Saying: "Lord, I am Thine; save me." But to dispose them to this surrender, and that they may be vessels unto honor, sanctified and made meet for the Master's use, and prepared unto every good work, a change must pass upon them. Renovation and purification are necessary. New principles must be implanted and the promise fulfilled: "I will put My spirit within you, and cause you to walk in My statutes, and ye shall keep My judgments, and do them." Christians, therefore, are new creatures, concerning whom He says: "They shall show forth My praise." This sanctification, therefore, is very superior to natural amiableness of temper, and outward reformation and mere morality. It includes morality, but it includes much more; it includes piety, and while it secures the practice of all good works, it sees that the heart is right with God. At present, indeed, the work is not complete; but it is begun and is advancing. The subjects of it love holiness; they mourn over the remains of sin as their greatest burden, and long and pray to be sanctified wholly—body, soul and spirit.

But let us see what a connection it has with the sacrifice of Christ: "For their sakes," says He, "I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified." Now this clearly shows us the importance of it. We may err in our estimation of things, but His judgment is always according to truth; and here we see His judgment.

And how precious and invaluable must He have deemed this sanctification, since He considered nothing too great or expensive to procure it for us. He well knew that unless we were delivered from the bondage of corruption and renewed in the spirit of our minds, we could have no meetness for the inheritance of the saints in light, and must be incapable of enjoying or serving God here. This therefore was His aim in dying. "He gave Himself for our sins, that He might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God and our Father." He "gave Himself" for us, that He might redeem us from all iniquity and purify unto Himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.

And we learn, hence, that they do not improve His death aright who seek from it hope, but not holiness. Such a desire has nothing spiritual in it; neither can it be realized. Jesus came by water, as well as by blood, and these are as inseparable in their application to the soul as they were in their effusion from the cross. What, then, can we think of those who derive from His death even a license to sin; and who, when reproved for their evil ways, satisfy themselves that Christ has satisfied for them, and not only for their past, but for all their future transgressions, and so they have nothing to fear. But they have everything to fear. At present they have no part nor lot in the matter, and if they die as they are, Christ will profit them nothing, for He has said: "If I wash thee not, thou hast no part with Me."

It is equally obvious that they are badly instructed in the mystery of sanctification who think to gain it from some slavish, legal, superstitious, self-righteous methods of their own, instead of opening up the sufferings of Christ, and cleansing us from all sin; and this is true as to our purification, not only from the guilt, but also the love and power of it. Our old man is crucified with Him. There is no true holiness separate from the cross. He obtained for us not only eternal redemption, but all the supplies of grace.

And as the death of Christ is the source

from which the spirit is derived, so it is the principal means by which He works; for He works rationally and in a way of argument and motive. And what can equal the view of His sufferings? There we see most strikingly the evil of sin, and there we behold the love of Christ, which most powerfully constrains us. At the sight of this the Christian rises and says: "Did He devote Himself thus for me, and shall I not dedicate myself to Him? Lord, what wilt Thou have me to do?"

In "A Narrative of Medicine in America," a book by James Gregory Mumford, M. D., and published by the Lippincotts, it is stated that "early Virginia is memorable for attracting the first physician who reached the shores of the New World, Thomas Wotton, surgeon-general of the London Company, and for the first movement on the statute books for a higher standard among practitioners."

Who was Dr. Wotton? Possibly his history may be very well known to the profession, but not so to the general public. It might be well for the doctors of medicine in Virginia to do something to preserve the name and fame of this pioneer of theirs in the wilds of Virginia.

We have no disposition to meddle with the affairs of the Methodist Church, but we hope that Rev. George H. Wiley, who for several years has had charge of the Methodist Institute, will not be removed from his post. Mr. Wiley is doing a noble work for religion and good morals. He has won the confidence and good will of the people among whom he is working, and it would be a difficult matter to find any man to take his place.

At some of the voting precincts in New Jersey, where voting machines were used last week, the result was announced within eleven minutes after the closing of the polls. And there was no error in the count, either.

By the decision of Judge Cleveland, Mr. Bryan came out all right on moral points, but slipped up on the law points involved in that fifty thousand dollar bequest.

There are enough secession flags left in the Dixie and of this indestructible Union to supply the new republic of Panama for a half a century, and some of them can be had cheap.

Prohibition Danville was too wet for Barham and Bailey's Circus—too wet on the ground—and Danville didn't see the big show.

Turkey and Bulgaria have postponed their little war until next year. In the meantime The Hague tribunal may be dealt a hand in the game.

If Uncle Sam wants to annex the new republic of Panama, he must secure up a little fight on some pretext or other. Only plain stealing is unconstitutional.

There are eminent statesmen in the country who somehow regard the Ohio result last Tuesday as a real Democratic victory over freak politics.

China gets it in the neck every time. Even at Panama the only men killed were Chinamen.

The population of Kentucky, as well as of one Virginia county, is somewhat smaller since election day.

Nobody wanted to dig a canal through the United States of Colombia, anyhow, and there is now no need to.

Colombia was greedy, clamored for more, and has lost a considerable slice of what she already had.

Indian summer is tricky, and has its icy islands here and there.

Anyhow, Boston got her Democratic teggery on straight.

North Carolina Sentiment.

The Raleigh News-Observer says: It is on the bills to take Panama now and Cuba later. It is nearly time for a Colonial Secretary.

The Enfield Ledger offers its former friends this advice:

Let every man who expects to make his living out of the soil next year look ahead a little and see if he can't improve on the system he pursued this year.

The Charlotte Observer says: There was ground for the claim made upon her old man by the South American heiress who braced him for a thousand dollars, saying that she wanted to go up to the United States and show these women up there a Daughter of the Revolution right. They are at it again; on the Isthmus of Panama.

The Weldon News is liberal; very liberal. Hear it:

The Richmond Times-Dispatch in a leading editorial on the act of the 1901 North Carolina Legislature in making a \$5,000 appropriation "to encourage the establishment of libraries in the public schools of the rural districts," believes that Virginia could here get an idea worth borrowing. Why, of course, we are first in all things, and our Virginia cousins are quite welcome to any and every good thing on our statute books. We will even throw in that Haywood verdict for good measure.

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PRIMARIES VIEWED BY EDITORS

(Continued from Second Page.)

Slr.—Answering yours of October 28th, I unhesitatingly say:

1. Though originally favoring the primary plan, I am now convinced it has little of the virtue in it once claimed for it; and, answering your direct question, I am opposed to it. It has fizzled and proved objectionable to the majority of the people of this section of the Northern Neck.

2. I favor the viva voce method of voting.

3. I think the sentiments I have expressed in No. 1 are entertained largely in Lancaster, Northumberland and Westmoreland counties.

Very truly yours,
W. McDONALD LEE.

Old Dominion Sun.
Staunton, Va., Nov. 2d, 1903.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:
Slr.—In reply to your questions, I will say:

1. That I favor the primary plan. In some respects the viva voce method of voting is the most objectionable in my eyes, especially in county elections, where very often the voter is friendly to two candidates for the same office. Of course, the primary plan has not been perfect, but I am a Republican, so I just give you my views as to how I consider it working.

2. The viva voce method of voting has both its good features and its bad. I consider it the best method of electing for a United States Senator, thus eliminating the charges of corruption, bribery, etc., that usually result from a contest before the Legislature. On the other hand, a candidate who is disposed to do so can win money in buying votes and roads are delivered and built, as I said, has an opportunity of seeing that the goods are delivered, and, too, as I said before, in county and district primaries, a large number of persons do not care to publicly state their choice.

3. With the viva voce method in this county to the primary method of choosing candidates, I believe, though, that a majority would probably favor the primary plan. At the recent primary in my county, I know of a number of prominent Democrats that took no part, because of either their hostility to the plan or their relations with all the candidates. As far as I am able to judge from the outside, I would say that the primary plan is generally unpopular in some "quarters," but generally acceptable to the people. There was no kick here about the primaries not being conducted honestly and fairly, as there was in some parts of the State, and consequently there was no real reason for their failure to vote, but a direct question.

Yours truly,
HARRY T. VOHHES.

Highland Recorder.
Monterey, Va., Nov. 5, 1903.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:
Slr.—I do not think the voters of Highland regard the primary plan with favor. Our county election just closed was carried on nicely without it.

(2) A majority of our older voters, I believe, favor the viva voce method. You hear them wish for the "old way" when they cast their votes, yet the sentiment favorable to it I do not consider strong enough to warrant the statement that our county, as a whole, would like to see a change from the ballot.

Very respectfully,
W. H. MARTINEG.

Amherst New Era.
November 5, 1903.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:
Slr.—Replying to your inquiry in reference to the primary plan and the viva voce plan of voting, will answer your question in the order named. First—I have always favored the primary plan in making nominations for every office, from constable up to United States Senator, and as a member of the Norfolk Convention, while on the Committee of Rules, I offered the amendment in the committee, making it apply to every office, especially Congressmen, which was left out of the plan proposed by Mr. Jones. I believe was afterwards amended so as not to make it mandatory for county and district officers. I am a stronger friend of the primary now than ever, but from observation and experience recently I am of the opinion, in order to make the primary plan a permanent fixture in the Democratic party, it must be legalized, so that an aggrieved candidate, when the rules are violated, can appeal to the courts to obtain justice, and if the parties in question will not enforce the rules adopted, especially if the side of the majority has been benefited. So in my opinion this is absolutely necessary, and it should be done speedily by the coming Legislature.

I second—I do not favor the viva voce plan of voting. While I recognize that there are strong arguments on both sides, but it is unfair to both the candidate and the voter. I believe in the primary plan, and I believe in the primary plan by ballot and substantial voters in our friendly fight that they wanted to vote for me and had always done so whenever I was a candidate, but they could not vote publicly against the wishes of A, B or C, who happened to be

a school trustee, a school officer, a merchant or a physician, as no more voters, they feared, they would get from them, which in my opinion is a shame in a free country.

There is no use talking. There are plenty of good voters who can not and will not face the music for fear of detriment to their own personal interests.

Third—The Democrats in Amherst are overwhelmingly in favor of the primary plan and against the viva voce mode of voting, so far as I can get at public sentiment.

Amherst has always had the primary since I could remember in nominating its county officers and the member for the House of Delegates, but on account of the rules not being enforced, this sentiment for the primary has weakened and will continue to weaken rapidly, unless the primary is legalized, which, in my opinion, and in the opinion of most of the Democrats here, is the only remedy.

My position on these questions of party government is a public matter, so you can use it as you think best.

Very truly yours,
C. J. CAMPBELL.

Farmville Herald.
Farmville, Va., Nov. 6, 1903.

Editor of The Times-Dispatch:
Slr.—Your letter of the 28th ult., in which you ask the following questions, has been received:

You ask first if I favor the primary plan. I do favor it.

Second—if I favor the viva voce voting. I am persuaded that the viva voce system is the best.

Sentiment in this community on the two questions is divided, the old mass meetings being an abhorrence to many, while others prefer it to the newly adopted plan.